Voting for Votes: Opposition Parties’ Legislative Activity and Electoral Outcomes

Or Tuttnauer and Simone Wegmann

Online Appendix
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Table A.1. Descriptive statistics – main independent variable (conflict rate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Conflict (mean)</th>
<th>Conflict (SD)</th>
<th>Conflict (min-max)</th>
<th>Conflict (range)</th>
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<td>-.124</td>
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<td>.097</td>
<td>.06-.45</td>
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Table A.2. Descriptive statistics – independent and control variables.

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*Note.* PPOP = Policy-making Powers of Opposition Players.
Table A.3. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Additional Control Variables

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<td>Ideology</td>
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<td>4.311***</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(0.537)</td>
<td>(1.111)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vote share (t)</td>
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<td>8.541***</td>
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<tr>
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Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Table A.4. Party-Government conflict on electoral performance: OLS regression

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<td>(0.028)</td>
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Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Table A.5. Party-Government conflict on electoral performance: Tobit regression

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<th>(2) Institutions</th>
<th>(3) Size</th>
<th>(4) Ideology</th>
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<td>Party-gov’t conflict rate</td>
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<td>(0.046)</td>
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<td>Vote share (t)</td>
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<td>0.989***</td>
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<td>(0.057)</td>
<td>(0.147)</td>
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<td>Party-gov’t distance</td>
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Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Table A.7. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Cabinet Fixed-Effects

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Robust standard errors in parentheses

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Observations 169 169 169

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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Robust standard errors in parentheses

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Table A.10. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Economic Conditions

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<th>(3) Left and unemployment</th>
<th>(4) Right and inflation</th>
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Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
### Table A.11. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Dropping Specific Countries

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<th>(3) without Germany</th>
<th>(4) without Spain</th>
<th>(5) without Finland</th>
<th>(6) without UK</th>
<th>(7) without Israel</th>
<th>(8) without Lithuania</th>
<th>(9) without Poland</th>
<th>(10) without Sweden</th>
<th>(11) Without ESP &amp; LIT</th>
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<td>0.952***</td>
<td>0.958***</td>
<td>0.969***</td>
<td>0.912***</td>
<td>0.819***</td>
<td>0.946***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3.958***</td>
<td>0.207</td>
<td>0.139</td>
<td>0.391***</td>
<td>0.601***</td>
<td>0.988***</td>
<td>0.708***</td>
<td>0.769***</td>
<td>0.940***</td>
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<td>0.020</td>
<td>0.011**</td>
<td>0.004*</td>
<td>0.374</td>
<td>0.016**</td>
<td>0.034**</td>
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<td>0.015</td>
<td>0.021**</td>
<td>0.004*</td>
<td>0.039**</td>
<td>0.007**</td>
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<td>-0.393***</td>
<td>-0.349*</td>
<td>-0.492***</td>
<td>-0.306***</td>
<td>-0.267*</td>
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<td>0.287***</td>
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Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
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<th>(1) without Canada</th>
<th>(2) without Cz. Rep.</th>
<th>(3) without Germany</th>
<th>(4) without Spain</th>
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Observations 159 155 153 166 149 144 138 156 157 144

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Table A.13. Effect of Party-Government Conflict on Electoral Performance: Dropping Specific Countries (Size Interaction)

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<th>(3) without Germany</th>
<th>(4) without Spain</th>
<th>(5) without Finland</th>
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<td>1.218***</td>
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Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
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<td>(0.345)</td>
<td>(0.253)</td>
<td>(0.302)</td>
<td>(0.536)</td>
<td>(0.327)</td>
<td>(0.365)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.835)</td>
<td>(0.791)</td>
<td>(1.173)</td>
<td>(0.774)</td>
<td>(0.843)</td>
<td>(0.826)</td>
<td>(0.753)</td>
<td>(1.102)</td>
<td>(0.875)</td>
<td>(0.949)</td>
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Observations | 159 | 155 | 153 | 166 | 149 | 144 | 138 | 156 | 157 | 144 |

Robust standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Table A.15. Party-Government Conflict, Likability and Perceived Extremism in Survey Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VARIABLES</th>
<th>(1) Likability</th>
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<th>(3) Likability</th>
<th>(4) Extremism</th>
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<th>(6) 2 Levels Extremism</th>
<th>(7) 3 Levels Likability</th>
<th>(8) 3 Levels Extremism</th>
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<tr>
<td>Party-gov’t conflict rate</td>
<td>1.158***</td>
<td>0.597***</td>
<td>0.244*</td>
<td>1.104***</td>
<td>0.501***</td>
<td>1.135***</td>
<td>0.227*</td>
<td>1.048***</td>
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<tr>
<td>(-0.101)</td>
<td>(-0.065)</td>
<td>(0.139)</td>
<td>(0.111)</td>
<td>(0.130)</td>
<td>(0.113)</td>
<td>(0.138)</td>
<td>(0.115)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote share</td>
<td>-0.839***</td>
<td>0.665***</td>
<td>-4.605***</td>
<td>0.764***</td>
<td>-3.805***</td>
<td>0.794***</td>
<td>-4.407***</td>
<td>0.769***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-0.248)</td>
<td>(0.136)</td>
<td>(0.507)</td>
<td>(0.137)</td>
<td>(0.466)</td>
<td>(0.127)</td>
<td>(0.478)</td>
<td>(0.132)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party-gov’t distance</td>
<td>-0.249***</td>
<td>0.328**</td>
<td>0.187</td>
<td>0.326**</td>
<td>0.326**</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(0.074)</td>
<td>(0.129)</td>
<td>(0.134)</td>
<td>(0.132)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict * Vote share</td>
<td>8.131***</td>
<td>7.800***</td>
<td>7.854***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict * distance</td>
<td>-1.464***</td>
<td>-1.364***</td>
<td>-1.389***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resp.-party distance</td>
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<td>0.277***</td>
<td>-0.552***</td>
<td>0.277***</td>
<td>-0.579***</td>
<td>0.269***</td>
<td>-0.552***</td>
<td>0.277***</td>
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<td>(0.0000)</td>
<td>(0.0000)</td>
<td>(0.0000)</td>
<td>(0.0000)</td>
<td>(0.0000)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voted for party = 1</td>
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<td>2.592***</td>
<td>0.433***</td>
<td>2.469***</td>
<td>0.422***</td>
<td>2.592***</td>
<td>0.433***</td>
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<td>(0.029)</td>
<td>(0.016)</td>
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<td>0.004</td>
<td>-0.341***</td>
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<td>(0.025)</td>
<td>(0.012)</td>
<td>(0.025)</td>
<td>(0.013)</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
<td>(0.013)</td>
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<td>Age</td>
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<td>0.005***</td>
<td>-0.019***</td>
<td>0.005***</td>
<td>-0.019***</td>
<td>0.005***</td>
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<tr>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
<td>(0.0000)</td>
<td>(0.0000)</td>
<td>(0.0000)</td>
<td>(0.0000)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-squared</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
<td>-0.000***</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
<td>-0.000***</td>
<td>0.000***</td>
<td>-0.000***</td>
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<tr>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender = male</td>
<td>-0.103***</td>
<td>-0.037***</td>
<td>-0.103***</td>
<td>-0.037***</td>
<td>-0.103***</td>
<td>-0.037***</td>
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<td>(0.021)</td>
<td>(0.010)</td>
<td>(0.017)</td>
<td>(0.009)</td>
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<td>Education = primary</td>
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<td>-0.105</td>
<td>-0.327**</td>
<td>-0.102</td>
<td>-0.325***</td>
<td>-0.101*</td>
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<tr>
<td>(0.166)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.106)</td>
<td>(0.056)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education = secondary</td>
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<td>-0.153*</td>
<td>-0.322*</td>
<td>-0.147*</td>
<td>-0.321***</td>
<td>-0.147***</td>
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<tr>
<td>(0.166)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.083)</td>
<td>(0.106)</td>
<td>(0.056)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education = post-secondary</td>
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<td>-0.166*</td>
<td>-0.291*</td>
<td>-0.157*</td>
<td>-0.292***</td>
<td>-0.158***</td>
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<td>(0.169)</td>
<td>(0.085)</td>
<td>(0.109)</td>
<td>(0.085)</td>
<td>(0.110)</td>
<td>(0.057)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education = university</td>
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<td>-0.177**</td>
<td>-0.274*</td>
<td>-0.172**</td>
<td>-0.274**</td>
<td>-0.172**</td>
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<td>(0.107)</td>
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<td>Country FE</td>
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<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party FE</td>
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<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>1.385***</td>
<td>7.139***</td>
<td>1.396***</td>
<td>6.071***</td>
<td>1.437***</td>
<td>7.237***</td>
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<td>(0.234)</td>
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<td>(0.064)</td>
<td>(0.212)</td>
<td>(0.135)</td>
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<td>81,839</td>
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<td>81,839</td>
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<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
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<td>0.452</td>
<td>0.369</td>
<td>0.452</td>
<td>0.368</td>
<td>0.452</td>
<td>0.368</td>
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Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by respondent. Models 5 and 6: Multilevel models with random intercepts for respondents. Models 7 and 8: Multilevel models with random intercepts for countries and parties.

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Table A.16. Perceived Party-Government Ideological Distance in Survey Data

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<td>Coefficient</td>
<td>Coefficient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Std. Err.)</td>
<td>(Std. Err.)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.851***</td>
<td>1.671***</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(0.111)</td>
<td>(0.176)</td>
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<td>Ideological gap</td>
<td>5.151***</td>
<td>6.084***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(0.121)</td>
<td>(0.209)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict * gap</td>
<td>-2.369***</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.428)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resp.-party distance</td>
<td>0.226***</td>
<td>0.226***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
<td>(0.005)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voted for party = 1</td>
<td>0.743***</td>
<td>0.745***</td>
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<td>(0.024)</td>
<td>(0.024)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extremism (experts)</td>
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<td>-0.087***</td>
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<td>(0.018)</td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
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<td>Vote share</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(0.207)</td>
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<td>0.007**</td>
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<td>(0.003)</td>
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<td>Age-squared</td>
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<td>-0.000</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
<td>(0.000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-0.107***</td>
<td>-0.107***</td>
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<td>(0.016)</td>
<td>(0.016)</td>
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<td>(0.115)</td>
<td>(0.115)</td>
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<td>(0.118)</td>
<td>(0.117)</td>
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<td>(0.115)</td>
<td>(0.115)</td>
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<td>Country FEs</td>
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<td>Party FEs</td>
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<tr>
<td>R-squared</td>
<td>0.321</td>
<td>0.322</td>
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Robust standard errors in parentheses, clustered by respondent

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1
Figure A.1. Histograms of Opposition Party and Coalition Positions in Legislative Voting
Figure A.2. Interaction Between Conflict and Economic Growth

Note. Based on model 2 in table A.10. Gray bars represent density of the x-axis variable. 95% confidence intervals used.